SPEECH OF GOV. SEWARD. In Senate, March 3, 1863, AGAINST THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.

MR. PRESIDENT: Eight years ago, we slew the Wamet Provise in the Secate Chamber, and buried it with triamphal demonstrations under the floors of the lepitol. Four years later, we exploded altogether the me-benored system of governing the Territories by rederal rules and regulations, and published and proimed in its stead a new gospel of Popular Sover-igaty, whose ways, like those of Wisdom, were to e ways of pleasantness, and all of whose paths were appeared to be the flowery paths of peace. Neverthe-, the question whether there shall be Slavery or No Covery in the Ferritories is again the stirring passage of the day. The restless Proviso has burst the cerements of the grave, and, striking hands here in our very presence with the gentle spirit of Popular Sovergnty run mad, is seen raging freely in our halls, scatog dismsy among the Administration benches in Houses of Congress. Thus an old and unwelcome con is read to us anew. The question of Slavery in Federal Territories, which are the nurseries of betare States, independently of all its moral and humane elements, involves a dynastic struggle of two gonistic systems, the labor of slaves and be labor of freemen, for mastery in the Federal Union. One of these systems partakes of an wistocratic character; the other is purely democratic. Bach one of the existing States has staked, or it will ately stake, not only its internal welfare, but also to influence in the Federal councils, on the decision of that contest. Such a struggle is not to be arrested melled, or reconciled, by temporary expedients or com

discussions, which awaken passion just in the degree that their importance demands the impartial umpirage of reason. This reluctance deepens now, when I look and me, and count the able contestants who have newly entered the lists on either side, and shadowy forms of many great and honored statesmen who one were eloquent in these disputes, but whose tongues since become stringless instruments, rise up me. It is, however, a maximin military science, before me. It is, however, a maximin military science, that in preparation for war, every one should think as if the last event depended on his counsel, and in every great battle each one should fight as if he were the enly champion. The principle, perhaps, is equally seemed in political affairs. If it be possible, I shall perform my present duty in such a way as to wound no just sensibilities. I must, however, review the netion of Presidents, Senates, and Congresses. I do, neted, with all my heart, reject the instruction given bedeed, with all my heart, reject the instruction given
by the Italian master of political science, which
teaches that all men are bad by nature, and that they
will not fail to show this depravity whenever they
have a fair opportunity. But jealousy of Executive
power is a high, practical virtue in Republics; and we
shall find it hard to deny the justice of the character
of free legislative bodies, which Charles James Fox
tree, when he said that the British House of Composes of which ha was at the moment seculiar. one, of which he was at the moment equally ar mament and an idol, like every other popular assem ly, must be viewed as a mass of men capable of too by, must be viewed as a mass of men capable of on much attachment and too much animosity, capable of being biased by weak and even wicked motives, and lable to be governed by ministerial influence, by caprice, and by corruption.

Mr. President, I propose to inquire, in the first place, why the question before us is attended by real

or apparent dangers.

I think our apprehensions are in part due to the in timeic importance of the transaction concerned. When ever we add a new column to our Federal colonnade. ever we add a new column to our Federal colonnade, we need to lay its foundations so firmly, to shape its shaft with such just proportions, to poise it with such exactness, and to adjust its connections with the existing structure so parefully, that, instead of falling prematurely, and dragging other and venerable colonns with it to the ground, it may stand erect forever, increasing the grandeur and the stability of the whole massive and imperial fabric. Still, the admission of a new State is not necessarily or even customarily attended by either embarrassments or alarins. We have already admitted eighteen new States without serious commotions, except in the cases of Misserious commotions.

We have already admitted eighteen new States withest serious commotions, except in the cases of Missouri, Texas and California. We are even now admitting two others, Minnesota and Oregon; and these transactions go on so smoothly, that only close observers are aware that we are thus consolidating our dominion on the shores of Lake Superior, and almost the gates of the Arctic Ocean.

It is manifest that the apprehended difficulties in the present case have some relation to the dispute concerning Slavery which is raging within the Territory of Kenser. Yet it must be remembered that nine of the new States which have been admitted expressly established Slavery, or tolerated it, and nine of them forbade it. The excitement, therefore, is due to pecular circumstances. I think there are three of them, namely:

amely:

First: That whereas, in the beginning, the ascendacy of the Slave States was absolute, it is now being

Second: That whereas, heretofore, the National Government favored this change of balance from the Save States to the Free States, it has now reversed

Save States to the Free States, it has now reversed this policy, and opposes the change.

Third: That National Intervention in the Territories in favor of Slave Labor and Slave States is opposed to the natural, social and moral development of the Republic.

It seems almost unnecessary to demonstrate the first of these propositions. In the beginning, there were twelve Slave States, and only one that was Free.

Now, six of those twelve have become Free; and there are sixteen Free States to fifteen Slave States. If the three candidates now here, Kansas, Minnesota and Oregon, shall be admitted as Free States, then there will be nineteen Free States to fifteen Slave States. Originally, there were twenty-four Senators of Slave States, and only two of a Free State; now there are thirty-two Senators of Free States, and thirty of Slave States. In the first Constitutional Congress, the Slave States had only eight; now, the Free States have one hundred and forty-tour Representatives, while the Slave States have only ninety. the Free States have one hundred and forty-four Representatives, while the Slave States have only ninety.
These changes have happened in a period during
which the Slave States have almost uninterruptedly
exercised paramount influence in the Government, and
notwithstanding the Constitution itself has opposed
well-known checks to the relative increase of reprementation of Free States. I assume, therefore, the

ruth of my first proposition.

I suggested, Sir, a second circumstance, namely:
That whereas, in the earlier age of the Republic, the
Mational Government favored this change, yet it has
since altogether reversed that policy, and it now
opposes the change. I do not claim that heretofore opposes the change. I do not claim that heretofore the National Government always, or even habitually intervened in the Territories in favor of the Free States, but only that such intervention preponderated. While Slavery existed in all of the States but one, at the beginning, yet it was far less intense in Northern than in some of the Southern States. A former contemplated an early emancipation. The ere seem not to have anticipated an enlargement he National Territory; consequently, they ex-ted that all the new States to be hereafter admitpected that all the new States to be hereafter admit-led would be organized upon subdivisions of the then existing States, or upon divisions of the then existing astional domain. That domain lay benind the thirteen States, and stretched from the Lakes to the Gulf, and was bounded westward by the Mississippi. It was naturally divided by the Ohio River, and the Northweet Territory and the Southwest Territory were organ-ized on that division. It was foreseen, even then that the new States to be admitted would ultimately everbalance the thirteen original once. They were, hewever, mainly to be yet planted and matared in the desert, with the agency of human labor. The fathers knew only of two kinds of labor, the

The fathers knew only of two kinds of labor, the same which now exist among ourselves—namely, the labor of African Slaves and the labor of freemen. The former then predominated in this country, as it did throughout the continent. A confessed denciency of Slave Labor could be supplied only by a continuance of the then existing importation from Africa. The supply of Free Labor depended on domestic increase, and a voluntary immigration from Europe. Settlements, which had thus early taken on a Free-Labor character or a Slave-Labor character, were already maturing in those parts of old States which were to be ultimately detached and formed into new States. When new States of this class were organized, they were admitted promptly, either as Free States or as Slave States, without objection. Thus Vermont, Pree State, was admitted in 1791; Kentucky, a Slave State, in 1792; and Tennessee, alse a Slave State, in 1796. Five new States were contemplated to be erected in the Northwest Territory. Practically it was unoccupied, and therefore open to labor of either kind. The one kind or the other, in the absence of any anticipated vermilation, would predominate, just as Congress should intervene to favor it. Congress intervened in favor of Free Labor. This, indeed, was an act of the Continental Congress, but it was confirmed by the first Constitutional Congress. The fathers simultaneously adopted three other massures of less direct intervention. First, the The fathers simultaneously adopted three masures of less direct intervention. First, they ted in 1789, and completed in 1808, the absointe suppression of the African Slave Trade. Secondly, they organized systems of foreign commerce and navi

gation, which stimulated voluntray immigration from Europe. Thirdly, they established an easy, simple and uniform process of naturalization. The change of the balance of power from the Slave States to the Free States, which we are now witnessing, is due chiefly to those four early measures of national intervention in favor of Free Labor. It would have taken place much sconer if the borders of the Republic had remained unchanged. The purchase of Louisiana and the acquisition of Florida, however, were transactions resulting from high political necessities, in disregard of the question between Free Labor and Slave Labor. In admitting the new State of Louisiana, which was orthe question between Free Labor and Save Labor. In admitting the new State of Louisiana, which was or-ganized on the Slave-Labor settlement of New-Or-leans, Congress practiced the same neutrality which it had before exercised in the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. No serious dispute arose until 1819, when Missouri, organized within the former prov-ince of Louisiana upon a Slave-Labor, settlement in ince of Louisiana upon a Slave-Labor settlement in St. Louis, applied for admission as a Slave State, and Arkansas was manifestly preparing to appear soon in the same character. The balance of power between the Slave States and the Free States was already rehad an equal representation with the eleven Slave States is the Senate of the United States. The Slave States unanimously insisted on an unqualified admission of Missouri. The Free States, with less unanimity, demanded that the new State should renounce Slavery. The controversy seemed to shake the Union to its foundations, and it was terminated by a compromise. Missouri was admitted as a Slave State. Arkansas, rather by implication than by express agreement, was to be admitted, and it afterward was admitted, as a Slave State. On the other hand, Slavery was forever prohibited in all that part of the old province of Louisians yet remaining unoccupied, which lay north of the parallel of 36° 30' north latitude. The reservation for Free Labor included the immense region now known as the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and seemed ample for eight, ten, or more Free States. The severity of the struggle and the conditions of the compromise indicated very plainly, however, that the vigor of national intervention in favor of Free Labor and Free States was exhausted. Still, the existing statutes were adequate to secure an attention according to the property of the Free States.

favor of Free Labor and Free States was exhausted.
Still, the existing statutes were adequate to secure an
uttimate ascendancy of the Free States.

The policy of intervention in favor of Slave Labor
and Slave States began with the further removal of
the borders of the Republic. I cheerfully admit that and Slave States began with the turtuer removarious the borders of the Republic. I cheerfully admit that this policy has not been persistent or exclusive, and claim only that it has been, and yet is, predominant. I am not now to deplore the ameration of Texas. I remark simply that it was a bold measure, of doubtful constitutionality, distinctly adopted as an act of intervention in favor of Slave Labor, and made or intended to be made most effective by the stipulation that the new State of Texas may hereafter be divided and so reorganized as to constitute five Slave States. This great act cast along shadow before it—a shadow which perplexed the people of the Free States. It was then that a feeble social movement, which aimed by moral persuasion at the manumission of slaves, gave place to political organizations, which have ever since gone on increasing in energy and extent, directed against a further extension of Slavery in the United States. The war between the United States and Mexico, and the acquisition of the Mexican Provinces of New-Mexico and Upper California, the fruits of that war, were so immediately and directly excessioners of the saneyaxion of Texas, that all of fruits of that war, were so immediately and directly consequences of the annexation of Texas, that all of those events in fact may be regarded as constituting consequences of the annexation of Texas, that all of those events in fact may be regarded as constituting one act of intervention in favor of Slave Labor and Slave States. The field of the strife between the two systems had become widely enlarged. Indeed it was now continental. The amazing mineral wealth of California stimulated settlement there into a rapidity like that of vegetation. The Mexican laws which prevailed in the newly-acquired Territories dictated to them Free Labor, and thus the astounding question arose for the first time: Whether the United States of America, whose Constitution was based on the principle of the political equality of all men, would blight and curse with Slavery a conquered land which enjoyed universal Freedom. The Slave States denied the obligation of these laws, and insisted on their abrogation. The

sal Freedom. The Slave States denied the obligation of these laws, and insisted on their abrogation. The Free States maintained them, and demanded their confirmation through the enactment of the Wilmot Proviso. The Slave States and the Free States were yet in equilibrium. The controversy continued here two years. The settlers of the new Territories betwo years. The settlers of the new Territories became impatient, and precipitated a solution of the question. They organized new Free States in California and New-Mexico. The Mormons also framed a Government in Utah. Congress, after a bewildering excitement, determined the matter by another compromise. It admitted California a Free State, dismembered New-Mexico, transferring a large district free from Slavery to Texas, whose laws carried Slavery over it, and subjected the residue to a Territorial Government, as it also subjected Utah, and stipulated that the future States to be organized in those Territories should be admitted either as Free stipulated that the future States to be organized in those Territories should be admitted either as Free States or as Slave States, as they should elect. I pass over the portions of this arrangement which did not bear directly on the print in conflict. The Federal Government presented this compromise to the people, as a comprehensive, final and perpetual adjustment of all then existing and all future questions having any relation to the subject of Slavery within the Territories or elsewhere. The country accepted it with that proverbial facility which Free States practice, when time brings on a stern conflict which popular passions provoke, and at a distance defy. This haleyon peace, however, had not ceased to be celebrated, when the new-born necessities of trade, travel and labor required an opening of the reto be celebrated, when the new-born necessaries of trade, travel and labor required an opening of the re-gion in the old province of Louisians north of 36° 30°, which had been reserved in 1820, and dedicated to

Free Labor and Free States. The old question was revived in regard to that Territory, and took the narrow name of the Kansas question, just as the stream and cataracts, and now spreading out its waters into broad seas, assumes a new name with every change of form, but continues nevertheless the same majestic and irresistible flood under every change, increasing in depth and in volume until it loses itself in the all-

sorbing ocean.

No one had ever said or even thought that the law of Preedem in this region could be repealed, impaired or evaded. Its constitutionality had indeed been questioned at the time of its enactment; but this, with all tioned at the time of its enactment; but this, with all other objections, had been surrendered as part of the compromise. It was regarded as bearing the sanction of the public faith, as it certainly had those of time and acquisscence. But the slaveholding people of Missouri looked across the border into Kanaas, and coveted the land. The Slave States could not fail to sympathize with them. It seemed as if no organization of Government could be effected in the Territory. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas] projected a scheme. Under his vigorous leading, Congress created two Territories—Nebraska and Kansas. The former (the more northern one) might, it was sup-

ated two territories—Sedaska and Kanasa. The former (the more northern one) might, it was sup-posed, be settled without Slavery, and become a Free State, or several Free States. The latter (the santi-ern one, was accessible to the Slave States, bordered on one of them, and was regarded as containing a reon one of them, and was regarded as containing a region inviting to slaveholders. So it might be settled by them, and become one or more Slave States. Thus, indirectly, a further compremise might be effected, if the Missouri prohibition of 1829 should be abrogated. Congress abrogated it, with the special and effective co peration of the President, and thus the National Government directly intervened in favor of Slave Labor. Loud remonstrances against the measre, on the ground of its violation of the national faith, were sienced by clamorous avowals of a discovery that Congress had never had any right to intervene in the Territories for or against Slavery, but that the citizens of the United States residing within a Territory had, like the people of every State, exclusive authority and jurisdiction over Slavery, as one of the domestic relations. The Kausse-Nebraska act only recognized and affirmed of every State, exclusive authority and jurisdiction over Slavery, as one of the domestic relations. The Kaussa-Nebraska act only recognized and affirmed this right, as it was said. The theory was not indeed new, but a vagrant one, which had for some time gone about seeking among political parties the charity o adoption, under the name of Squatter Sovereignty. It was now brought to the font, and baptized with the more attractive appellation of Popular Sovereignty It was idle for a time to say that, under the Missour Prohibition, freemen in the Terrifory had all the rights which freemen could desire—perfect freedom to do everything but establish Slavery. Popular Sov rights which freemen could desire—perfect freedom to do everything but establish Slavery. Popular Sov de everything but establish Slavery. Popular Sov de eightly offered the indulgence of a taste of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of evil as well as of good—a more perfect freedom. Insomuch as the proposition seemed to come from a Free State, the Slave States could not resist its seductions, although sagacious men saw that they were delusive. Consequently, a small and ineffectual stream of slave labor was at once forced into Kansas, engineered by a large number of politicians, advocates at once of alorge number of politicians, advocates at once of Slavery and of the Federal Administration, who pro-ceeded with great haste to prepare the means so to carry the first elections as to obtain the laws neces-

action, a civil community.

The parties differed as widely in their appointments. The partice officer as widelyin their appointments conduct and bearing, as in their principles. The free la-borers came into the Territory with money, horses, cat-tle, implements, and engines, with energies concentrated by associations and strengthened by the recognition of tle, implements and engines, with energies concentrated by associations and strengthened by the recognition of some of the States. They marked out farms, and sites for mills, towns and cities, and proceeded at once to build, to plow and to sow. They proposed to debate, to discuss, to organize peacefully, and to vote and to abide the carvase. The Slave-labor party en-

carry the first elections as to obtain the laws neces-sary for the protection of Slavery. It is one thing, however, to expunge statutes from a national code, and quite another to subvert a national institution, even though it be only a monument of Freedom located in the desert. Nebraska was resigned to free labor without a struggle, and Kansas became a thea-ter of the first actual national conflict between slave-holding and free-labor immigrants, and force to fee

helding and free-labor immigrants, met face to face, to organize, through the machinery of republicar

tered the Territory irregularly, staked out possessions, marked them, and then, in most instances, withdrew to the States from which they had come to self their new acquisitions or to return and resume them, as circumstances should render one course or the other extedient. They left armed men in the Territory to keep watch and zuard, and to summon external aid, either to vote or to fight, as should be found necessary. They were fortfield by the favor of the Administration, and assumed to act with its authority. Intolerant of debate, and defiant, they hurried on the elections which were to be so perverted that an usurpation should be established. They rang out their summons when the appointed time came, and armed bands of partiasans, from States near and remote, invaded and entered the Territory with banners, ammunition, provisions and forage, and encamped around the poll. They seized the ballot-boxes, replaced the Judges of Elections with partisans of their own, drove away their opponents, filled the boxes with as many votes as the exigencies demanded, and, leaving the results to be returned by reliable hands, they marched back again to their distant homes to celebrate the conquest and exult in the prospect of the establishment of Slavery upon the soil so long consecrated to Freedom. Thus, in a single day, they became parents of a State without affection for it, and childless again without bereavement. In this first hour of trial, the new system of Popular Sovereignty signally failed—failed because it is impossible to organize, by one single act, in one day, a community perfectly free, perfectly sovereign, and perfectly constituted, out of elements unas imilated, unarranged and uncomposed. Free Labor rightfully wen the day. Slave Labor wrested the victory to itself by fraud and violence. Instead of a free Republican Government in the Territory, such as Popular Sovereignty had promised, there was then and thence forth a hateful surpration. This surpration proceeded without delay and without compunction to disfra without delay and without companies the Slave Code of Missouri to Kansas, without stopping in all cases to substitute the name of the new Territory for that of the old State. It practically suspended popular elections for three years—the nsurping Legislature assigning that term for its own members, while it committed all subordinate trusts to agents appointed by itself. It barred the Courts and the Juries to its adversaries by test oaths, and made i a crime to think what one pleased, and to write and print what one thought. It berrowed all the enginery print what one thought. It berrowed all the enginery of tyranny, but the torture, from the practice of the Stuarts. The party of Free Labor appealed to the Governor (Reeder) to correct the false election returns. He intervented, but ineffectually, and yet even for that intervention was denounced by the Administration organs, and, after long and unacceptable explanations, he was removed from office by the President. The new Governor (Shannon) sustained for a while the usurpation, but failed to effect the subjugation of the people, although he organized as militia an armed usurpation, but failed to effect the subjugation of the people, although he organized as a militia an armed partisan band of adventurers who had intruded them partisan band of adventurers who had intruded them-selves into the Territory to force Slavery upon the people. With the active cooperation of this band, the party of Slave Labor disarmed the Free State emi-grants, who had now learned the necessity of being prepared for self-defense, on the borders of the Terri-tory, and on the distant roads and rivers which led-into it. They destroyed a bridge that Free-Labor men used in their way to the seat of Government, sacked a hotel where they lodged, and broke up and cast into the river a press which was the organ of their cause.

their cause. The people of Kansas, thus deprived, not merely of self-government, but even of peace, tranquillity, are security, fell back on the inalienable revolutionar-right of voluntary reorganization. They determined however, with admirable temper, judgment, and loy alty to conduct their proceedings for this purpose it reference and subordination to the authority of the Federal Union, and according to the line of safe

precedents.
After due elections, open to all the inhabitants of the After due elections, open to altre innabitants of the Territory, they organized provisionally a State Government at Topeka; and by the lands of provisional Senators, and a provisional representative, they submitted their Constitution to Congress, and prayed to be admitted as a Free State into the Federal Union. The Federal authorities lent no aid to this movement, but, on the contrary, the President and Senate contemptuously rejected it, and denounced it as treason, and all its actors and abottors as disloyed to the Union. temptuously rejected it, and denounced it as treason, and all its actors and abettors as disloyal to the Union. An army was dispatched into the Territory, intended indeed to preserve peace, but at the same time to obey and sustain the usurpation. The provisional Legislature, which had met to confer, and to adopt further means to urge the prayers of the people upon Congress, were dispersed by the Army, and the State officers provisionally elected, who had committed no criminal act, were arrested, indicted, and held in the Federal camp as State prisoners. Nevertheless, the people of Kansas did not acquiesee. The usurpation remained a barren authority, defied, derided and despised.

A national election was now approaching. Excitement within, and sympathies without the Territory, must be allayed. Gov. Shannon was removed, and Ma. Geary was appointed his successor. He exacted submission to the statutes of the usurpation, but promised equality in their administration. He induced a repeal of some of those statutes which were most obviously unconstitutional, and declared an amnesty for political offenses. He persuaded the Legislature of the usurpation to ordain a and all its actors and abettors as disloyal to the Union

were most obviously unconstitutional, and the clared an amnesty for political offenses. He persuaded the Legislature of the usurpation to ordain a call for a Convention at Lecempton, to form a Constitution, if the measure should be approved by a popular vote at such an election to be held for that purpose. To vote at such an election was to recognize and tolerate the usurpation, as well as to submit to disfranchising laws, and to hazard a renewal of the trades and the lence by which the usurpation had been established. On no account would the Legislature agree that the projected Constitution should be submitted to the people, after it should have been perfected by the Convention. The refusal of this just measure, so necessary to the public security in case of surprise convention. The retusal of this just measure, as necessary to the public security in case of surprise and fraud, was a confession of the purpose on the part of the usurpation to carry a Constitution into effect by surprise and fraud. The Governor insisted on this provision, and demanded of the President of the United States the removal of a partial and tyran-incal Judge. He failed te gain either measure, and incurred the displeasure of the usurpation by seeking them. He fled from the Territory. The Free-State party stood aloof from the polls, and a canvass showed that some 2,300, less than a third of the people of the Territory, had sanctioned the call of a Convention, while the presence of the army alone held the Territory under a forced truce.

At this juncture, the new Federal Administration came in, under a President who had obtained success by the intervention at the polls of a third party—an epheneral organization, built upon a foreign and frivolous issue, which had just strength enough and life enough to give to a Pro-Slavery party the aid required to produce that untoward result. The new President, under a show of moderation, masked a more effectual

lous issue, which had just strength enough and life enough to give to a Pro-Slavery party the aid required to produce that untoward result. The new President, under a show of moderation, masked a more effectual intervention than that of his predecessor, in favor of Slave-Labor and a Slave State. Before coming into office, he approached or was approached by the Supreme Court of the United States. On their docket was, through some chance or design, an action which an obscure negro man in Missouri had brought for his freedom against his reputed master. The Court had arrived at the conclusion, on solemn argument, that insomuch as this unfortunate negro had, through some ignorance or chicane in special pleading, admitted what could not have been proved, that he had descended from some African who had once been held in bondage; that therefore he was not, in view of the Constitution, a citizen of the United States, and therefore sould not implead the reputed master in the Federal courts; and on this ground the Supreme Court were prepared to dismiss the action, for want of jurisdiction over the suitor's contractive to the ground the Supreme Court were prepared to dismiss the action, for want of jurisdiction over the suitor's person. This decision, certainly as repugnant to the Declaration of Independence and to the spirit of the Constitution as to the matincts of humanity, neverthe-less would be one which would exhaust all the power of the tribunal, and exclude consideration of all other questions that had been raised upon the record. The counsel who had appeared for the negro had voluncounsel who had appeared for the negro had volunteered from motives of charly, and, ignorant of course of the disposition which was to be made of the cause, had argued that his client had been freed from Slavery by operation of the Missouri prohibition of 1826. The opposing counsel, paid by the defending slaveholder, had insisted, in reply, that that famous statute was unconstitutional. The mock debate had been heard in the chamber of the Court in the basement of the Capitol, in the presence of the curious visitors at the seat of Government, whom the dullness of a judicial investigation could not disgust. The Court did not hesitate to please the incoming President, by saizing this extraneous and idle forensic discussion, and converting it into an occasion for pronouncing an opinion verting it into an occasion for pronouncing an opinion that the Missouri prohibition was void, and that, by force of the Constitution, Slavery existed, with all the

force of the Constitution, Slavery existed, with all the elements of property in man over man, in all the Territories of the United States, paramount to any popular sovereignty within the Territories, and even to the authority of Congress itself.

In this ill-omened act, the Supreme Court forgot its own dignity, which had always been maintained with just judicial jealousy. They forgot that the province of a Court is simply "just dicere," and not at all "just dare." They forgot, also, that one "foul sentence "does more harm than many foul examples, for the "last do but corrupt the stream, while the former corrupteth the fountain." And they and the President alike forgot that judicial usurpation is more edious and intolerable than any other among the manifold practices of tyranny.

The day of inauguration came—the first one among all the celebrations of that great national pageant that was to be descryated by a coalition between the Executive and Judicial Departments, to undermine the

an the celebrated by a coalition between the that was to be described by a coalition between the Executive and Judgetal Departments, to undermine the National Legislature and the liberties of the people. The President, attended by the usual lengthened procession, arrived and took his seat on the portico. The Supreme Court attended him there, in robes which yet

exacted public reverence. The people, anaware of the import of the whisperings carried on between the President and the Chief Justice, and imbued with veneration for both, filled the avenues and gardens far away as the eye could reach. The President addressed them in words as bland as those which the worst of all the Roman Emperors pronounced when he assumed the purple. He announced (vaguely, indeed, but with self satisfaction) the forthcoming extra-judicial exposition of the Constitution, and piedged his submission to it as authoritative and final. The Chief Justice and his Associates remained silent. The Senate, too, were there—constitutional witnesses of the transfer of all ministration. They too were silent, although the promised usurpation was to subvert the authority over more then half of the empire which Congress had assumed cotemporaneously with the birth of the nation, and had exercised without interruption for nearly everely years. It cost the President, under the circumstances, little exercise of magnanimity, now to promise to the people of Kansas, on whose neck he had, with the aid of the Supreme Court, hung the mill-stone of Slavery, a fair trial in their attempt to cast it off and hurl it to the earth, when they should come to organize a State Government. Alsa! that even this cheap promise, uttered under such great solemnities, and exacted public reverence. The people, anaware of organize a State Government. Alas! that even this cheap promise, uttered under such great solemnities, was only made to be broken! The pageant ended. cheap promise, uttered under such great solemnities, was only made to be broken! The pageant ended. On the 5th of March, the Judges, without even exchanging their silken robes for courtiers' gowns, paid their salutations to the President, in the Exeguitive Palace. Doubtlesslythe President received them as graciously as Charles I. did the Judges who had at his instance subverted the statutes of English Liberty. On the 6th of March, the Supreme Court dismissed the begro suitor, Dred Scott, to return to his bondage; and having thus disposed of that private action for an alleged private wrong, on the ground of want of jurisdiction in the case, they proceeded with amusing solemnity to pronounce the opinion, that if they had had such jurisdiction, still the unfortunate negro would have had to remain in bondage, unrelieved, because the Missouri prohibition violates rights of general property involved in Slavery, paramount to the authority of Congress. A few days later copies of this opinion were multiplied by the Senate broadcast over the land, and their publication has not yet been disowned by the Senate. Simultaneously, Dred Scott, who had played the hand of dummy in this interesting political game, unwittingly, yet to the complete satisfaction of his adversary, was voluntarily emancipated; and thus received from his master, as a seward, the freedom which the Court had denied him as a right.

The new President of the United States, having or-

as a right.

The new President of the United States, having or

The new President of the United States, having or-ganized this formidable judicial battery at the Capi-ol, was now ready to begin his active demonstrations of intervention in the Territory. Mere occurred, not a new want, but an ald one revived—a Governor for Kansas. Robert J. Walker, born and reared in Penn-sylvania, a Free State, but long a citizen and resident of Mississippi, a Slave State, eminent for talent and industry, devoted to the President and his party. sylvania, a Free State, but long a citizen and resident of Mississippi, a Slave State, eminent for talent and industry, devoted to the President and his party, plausible and persevering, untiring and efficient, seemed just the man to conduct the fraudulent inchaste proceedings of the projected Lecompton Convention to a conclusion, by dividing the friends of Free Labor in the Territory, or by casting upon them the responsibility of defeating their own favorite pelicy by impracticability and contumacy. He wanted for this purpose only an army and full command of the Executive exchequer, of promises of favor and of threats of punishment. Frederick P. Stanton of Tennessee, honorable and capable, of persuasive address, but honest ambition, was appointed his Secretary. The new agents soon found they had assumed a task that would tax all their energies and require all their adroitness. On the one side, the Slave-Labor party were determined to circumvent the people, and secure, through the Lecompton Convention, a Slave State. On the other, the people were watchful, and determined not to be circumvented, and in no case to submit. Elections for delegates to that body were at hand. The Legislature had required a census and registry of voters to be made by authorities designated by itself, and this duty had been only partially performed in fifteen of the thirty-four counties, and altogether omitted in the other nineteen. The party of Slave Labor insisted on payment of taxes as a condition of suffrage. The Free-Labor party deemed the whole proceeding void, by reason of the usurpation practiced and of the defective arrangements for the election. They discovered a design to surprise in the refusal of any guaranty that the Constitution, when framed, should be submitted to the people, for their acceptance or rejection, preparatory to an application under it for the admission of Kansas into the Union. The Governor, drawing from the ample treasury of the Executive at his command, made due exhibited. under it for the admission of Kansas into the Union. The Governor, drawing from the ample treasury of the Executive at his command, made due exhibitions of the army, and threatened the people with an acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution, however obnoxious to them, if they should refuse to vote. With these menaces, he judiciously mingled promises of fabulous quantities of land for the endowment of roads and education. He dispensed with the test ouths and taxes, lamented the defects of census and registry, and promised the rejection of the Constitution, by himself, by the President, and by Congress, if a full fair, and complete submission of the Constitution should not be made by the Convention; and he obtained and published pledges of such submission by obtained and published pledges of such submission by the party Conventions which nominated the candi-dates for Delegates, and even by an imposing number dates for Delegates, and even by an imposing number of those candidates themselves. The people stood aloof, and refused to vote. The army protected the polls. The Slave-Laber party alone voted, and voted without legal restraint, and so achieved an easy formal success by casting some two thousand ballots.

Just in this conjuncture, however, the term of three years' service which the usurping Legiclature had fixed for its own members expired, and elections, authorized by itself, were to be held, for the choice not only of new members, but of a Delegate to Congress. While the Lecompton Convention was assem-

While the Lecompton Convention was assemgress. While the Lecompton Convention was assembling, the Free-Labor party determined to attend thes Territorial elections, and contest, through them, for self-gevernment within the Territory. They put Territorial elections, and contest, through them, for self-gevernment within the Territory. They put candidates in nomination on the express ground of repudiation of the whole Lecompton proceeding. The Lecompton Convention prudently adjourned to a day beyond the elections. The parties centended at the ballot-boxes, and the result was a complete and conclusive triumph of the Free-Laber party. For a moment, this victory, so important, was jeoparded by the fraudulent presentation of spurious and fabricated returns of elections in almost uninhabited districts, sufficient to transfer the triumph to the Slave-Labor party, and the Free-State party was proceeding to vindicate it by force. The Governor and Secretary detected, proved, and exposed this atrocious fraud. The Lecompton Convention denounced them, and complaints against them poured in upon the President, from the slave-holding States. They were doomed from that time. The President was silent. The Lecompton Convention proceeded, and framed a Constitution which declares Slavery perpetual and irreversible, and postpones any alteration of its own provisions until after 1864, by which time they hoped that Slavery might have gained too deep a hold in the soil of Kansas to be in danger of being uprocted.

All this was easy: but now came the question whether the Constitution should be submitted to the People. It was confessed that it was observious to

have gained too deep a hold in the soil of Kansas to be in danger of being uprooted.

All this was easy: but now came the question whether the Constitution should be submitted to the People. It was confessed that it was obnaxious to them, and, if submitted, would be rejected with indignation and contempt. An official emissary from Washington is supposed to have suggested the solution which was adopted. This was a submission in form, but not in fast. The President of the Convention, which was adopted. This was a submission in form, but not in fast. The President of the Convention without any laws to preserve the purity of the franchise by penalties for its violation, was authorized to designate his own agents, altogether irrespectively of the Territorial authorities, and with their aid to hold an election, in which there should be no vote allowed or received, if against the Constitution itself. Each voter wpermittas ed to cast a ballot. For the Constitution with no Slavery, and it was further provided, that the Constitution should stand entire, if a majority of votes should be cast for the Constitution with no Slavery, while, on the other hand, if the majority of votes should be cast for the Constitution with no Slavery, then the existing Slavery should not be disturbed, butshould remain, with its continuance, by the succession of its unhappy victims by descent forever. But even this miserable shadow of a choice between forms of a Slave-State Constitution was made to depend on the taking of a test eath to support and maintain it in the form which should be preterred by the majority of those who should vote on complying with that humiliation. The Governor saw that by conniving at this pitiful and wicked juggle he should both shipwreck his fame and become responsible for civil war. He remonstrated and appealed to his chief, the President of the United States, to condemn it. Denunciations followed him from the Lecompron part within the Territory, and denunciations no less violent from the Slave States were his gree tional Capital. The President disappointed his most effective friend and wisest counselor. This present Congress had now assembled. The President, as if fearful of delay, forestalled our attention with recommendations to overlook the manifest objections to the transaction, and to regard the anticipated result of this mock election, then not yet held, as equivalent to an acceptance of the Constitution by the people of Kansas, alleging that the refusal of the people to vote either the ballot for the "Constitution with no Slavery," or the false and deceiful ballot for the "Constitution with no Slavery," would justly be regarded as drawing after it the consequences of actual acceptance and adoption of the Constitution itself. His argument was spologetic, as it lamented that the Constitution had not been fairly submitted; and jesuitical, as it urged that the people might, when once admitted as a State, change the Constitution at their pleasure, in defiance of the provision which postpones any change seven years.

any change seven years.

Copies of the Message containing these arguments were transmitted to the Territory, to confound and

dishearten the Free-State party, and obtain a surrender, at the election to be held on the 21st of December, on the questions submitted by the Convention. The people, however, were neither misled nor intimidated. Alarmed by this as of countvance by the President of the United States with their oppressors, they began to prepare for the last arbitrament of nations. The Secretary, Mr. Stanton, now Governor ad interim, issued his proclamation, calling the new Territorial Legislature to assemble to provide for preserving the public peace. An Executive spy dispatched information of this proceeding to the President by telegraph, and instantlyfMr. Stanton ceased to be Secretary and Governor ad interim, being removed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. Thus the service of Frederick P. Stanton came to an abrupt end, but in a manner most honton came to an abrupt end. and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. Thus the service of Frederick P. Stanton came to an abrupt end, but in a manner most honorable to himself. His chief, Mr. Walker, was less wise and less fortunate. He resigned. Patus Thrasea (we are informed by Tacitus) had been often present in the Senate, when the fathers descended to unworthy acts, and did not rise in opposition; but on the occasion when Nero produced from them a decree to celebrate, as a festival, the day on which he had murdered his mother. Agrippina, Patus left his seat, and walked out of the chamber—thus by his virtue provoking future vengeance, and yet doing no service to the cause of Liberty. Possibly Robert J. Walker may find a less stern historian.

The new Secretary, Mr. Denver, became Governor of Kansas, the fifth incumbent of that office appointed within less than four years, the legal term of one, Happily, however, for the honor of the country, three of the recalls were made on the ground of the virtues of the parties disgraced. The Pro-Consuls of the Roman provinces were brought back to the Capital to answer for their crimes.

The proceeding which the late Sesretary Stanton had so wisely instituted, nevertheless, went on; and it has been as a trust the principal means of resouing

The proceeding which the late Secretary Stanton had so wisely instituted, nevertheless, went on; and it has become, as I trust, the principal means of rescaing from tyrainy the people whom he governed so briefly and yet so well. The Lecompton Constitution had directed, that on the 4th of January elections should he held to fill the State offices and the offices of members of the Legislature and member of Congress, to assume their trusts when the new State should be admitted into the Union. The Legislature of the Territory now enacted salutary laws for preserving the purity of elections in all cases. It directed the Lecompton Constitution to be submitted to a fair vote on that day, the ballots being made to express a consent purity of elections in all cases. It directed the Lecompton Constitution to be saturated to a fair vote on that day, the ballots being made to express a consent to the Constitution, or a rejection of it, with or without Slavery. The Free-Laborparty debated anxiously on the question, whether, beside voting against that Constitution, they should, under protest, vote also for officers to assume the trusts created by it, if Congress should admit the State under it. After a majority had decided that no such votes should be cast, a minority hastily rejected the decision, and nominated candidates for those places, to be supported under protest. The success of the movement, made under the most serious disadvantages, is conclusive evidence of their strength. While the election held on the 21st of December, allowing all fraudulent votes, showed some six thousand majority for the Constitution with Slavery, over some five hundred votes for the Constitution without Slavery, the election on the 4th of January showed an aggregate majority of eleven thousand against the Constitution itself in any form, with the choice, under protest, of a Representative in Congress, and of a large majority of all the candidates nominated by the Free-Labor party for the various Executive and Legislative trusts under the Lecompton Constitution.

The Territorial Legislature has abolished Slavery

The Territorial Legislature has abolished Slavery by a law to take effect in March, 18-8, though the Leoompton Constitution contains provisions anticipating and designed to defeat this great act of justice and humanity. It has organized a militia which stands ready for the defense of the rights of the people against any power. The President of the Lecompton Conven-tion has fled the Territory, charged with an attempt procure fraudulent returns to reverse the already declared results of the last election, and he holds the procure fraudulent returns to reverse the already declared results of the last election, and he holds the public in suspense as to his success until after his arrival at the Capital, and the decision of Congress on the acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution. In the mean time, the Territorial Legislature has called a Convention, subject to the popular approval, to be held in March next, and toform a Constitution to be submitted to the people, and, when adopted, to be the organic law of the new State of Kansas, subject to her admission into the Union. The President of the United States, having received the Lecompton Constitution, has submitted it to Congress, and insisting that the vote taken on the juggle of the Lecompton Convention, held on the 21st of December, is legally conclusive of its acceptance by the people, and absolute against the fair, direct, and unimpeachable rejection of it by that people, made on the 4th of January last, he recommends and urges and implores the admission of Kansas as a State into the Federal Union, under that false, pretended, and spurious Constitution. I refrain from any examination of this extraordinary message. My recital is less complete than I have hoped, if it does not overthrow all the President's arguments in favor of the acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution as an act of the people of Kansas, however specious, and without descending to any details. In Congress, those who seek the admission of Kansas ander that Congrive to deal who details.

compten Constitution as an act of the people of Kansas, however specious, and without descending to any
details. In Congress, those who seek the admission
of Kansas under that Constitution strive to delay the
admission of Minnesota until their opponents shall
compromise on that paramount question.

This, Mr. President, is a concise account of the national intervention in the Teritories in favor of Slave
Labor and Slave States since 1820. No wonder that
the question before us excites apprehensions and
alarms. There is at last a North side of this Chamber, a North side of the Chamber of Representatives.
a North side of the Union, as well as South sides of
all these. Each of them is watchful, jealous, and
resolute. If it be true, as has so often been asserted,
that this Union cannot survive the decision by Congress of a direct question involving the adoption of a
Free State which will establish the ascendency of Free
States under the Constitution, and draw after it the States under the Constitution, and draw after it the restoration of the influence of Freedom in the domestic and foreign conduct of the Government, then the day of dissolution is at hard. of dissolution is at hand.
I have thus, Mr. President, arrived at the third cir.

I have thus, Mr. President, arrived at the third cir-mustance attending the Kansas question which I bave thought worthy of consideration, namely: that the national intervention in the Territories in favor of Slave Labor and Slave States is opposed to the mate-rial, moral, and social developments of the Republic. The proposition seems to involve a paradox, but it is easy to understand that the checks which the Consti-The proposition seems to involve a paranox, our transaction applies, through prudent caution, to the relative increase of the representation of the Free States in the House of Representatives, and especially in the Senate, cooperating with the differences of temper and political activity between the two classes of States, may direct the Government of the Federal Union in one course, while the tendencies of she nation itself, popularly regarded, are in a direction exactly opposite.

The ense and success which attended the earlier policy of intervention in favor of Free Labor and Free States, and the resistance which the converse policy of intervention in favor of Slave Labor and Slave States encounters, sufficiently establish the existence of the antagonism between the Government and the nation which I have asserted. A vessel moves quietly at the converse policy of the supposition of the suppos nation which I have asserted. A vessel moves quietly and peacefully while it descends with the current. You mark its way by the foam on its track only when it is forced against the tide. I will not dwell on other proofs—such as the more rapid growth of the Fre States, the ruptures of ecclesiastical Federal Unions and the demoralization and disorganization of politi

cal parties.

Mr. President, I have shown why it is that the Kansas question is attended by difficulties and dangers only by way of preparation for the submission of my opinions in regard to the manner in which the question ought to be determined and settled. I think, with great deference to the judgments of others, that the expedient, peaceful, and right way to determine it is to expedient, peaceful, and right way to determine it is to reverse the existing policy of intervention in favor of Slave Labor and Slave States. It would be wise to restore the Missouri prohibition of Slavery in Kansas and Nebrasks. There was peace in the Territories and in the States until that great statute of Freedom was subverted. It is true that there were frequent debates here on the subject of Slavery, and that there were profound sympathies among the people, awakened by or responding to those debates. But what was Congress instituted for but debate? What makes the American people to differ from all other nations, but this—that while among them power enforces silence, here all public questions are referred to debate, free this—that while among them power enforces silence, here all public questions are referred to debate, free debate in Congress. Do you tell me that the Supreme Court of the United States has removed the foundations of that great statute! I reply, that they have done no such thing; they could not do it. They have remanded the negro man Dred Scott to the custody of his master. With that decree we have nothing to do, at least nothing now to do. This is the extent of the judgment rendered, the extent of any judgment they could render. Already the pretended further decision is subverted in Kansas. So it will be in every Free State and in every Free Territory of the United States. The Supreme Court, also, can reverse its spurious judgment every Free Territory of the United States. The Superpreme Court, also, can reverse its spurious judgment more easily than we could reconcile the people to its usurpation. Sir, the Supreme Court of the United States attempts to command the people of the United States to accept the principles that one man can own other men, and that they must guarantee the inviolability of that false and pernicious properly. The people of the United States never can, and they never will accept principles on unconstitutional and so about ple of the United States never can, and they never will, accept principles so unconstitutional and so ab-horrent. Never, never. Let the Court recede-Whether it recede or not, we shall reorganize the Court, and thus reform its political sentiments and practices, and bring them into harmony with the Con-stitution and with the laws of nature. In doing so, we shall not only reassume our own just authority but we shall restore that high tribunal itself to the p sition it ought to maintain, since so many malienable rights of citizens, and even of States themselves, depend upon its impartiality and its wisdom.

Do you tell me that the Slave States will not acquiesce, but will agitate? Think first whether the Free States will acquiesce in a decision that shall not only be unjust, but fraudulent. True, they will not menace the Republic. They have an easy and simple remedy, namely: to take the Government out of unjust and unfaithful hands, and commit to those which will be just and faithful. They are ready to do this now. They want only a little more harmony of remedy, namely: lotate the commit to those which will be just and faithful. They are ready to do this now. They want only a little more harmony of purpose and a little more completeness of organization. These will result from only the least addition to the pressure of Slavery upon them. You are lending all that is necessary, and even more, in this very act. But will the Slave States agitate? Why? Because they have lost at last a battle that they could not win, unwisely provoked, fought with all the advantages of strategy and intervention, and on a field chosen by themselves. What would they gain? Can they compel Kansas to adopt Slavery against her will? Would it be reasonable or just to do it, if they could? Was negro servitude ever forced by the sword on any people that inherited the blood which circlulates in our veins, and the sentiments which makes us a free people? If they will agitate on such a ground as this, then how, or when, by what concessions we can make, will they ever be satisfied? To what end would they agitate? It can now be only to divide the Union. Will they not need some fairer or more pisusible excuse for a proposition so desperate? How would they improve their condition, by drawing down a certain ruin upon themselves? Would they not hazard securities that are invaluable. Sir, they who talk so idly, talk what they do not know themselves. No man when cool can promise what he will do when he shall be inflamed; no man inflamed can speak for his actions when time and necessity shall bring reflection. Much lees can any one speak for States in such emergencies.

But, I shall not insist, now, on so radical a measure.

his actions when time and necessity shall bring renection. Much less can any one speak for States in such temergencies.

But, I shall not insist, now, on so radical a measure as the restoration of the Missouri prohibition. I know how difficult it is for power to relinquish even a pernecious and suicidal policy all atonce. We may attain the same result, in this particular case of Kansas, without going back so far. Go back only to the ground assumed in 1854, the ground of popular sovereignty. Happily for the authors of that measure, he zealous and energetic resistance of abuses practiced under it has so far been effective that popular overeignty in Kansas may now be made a fact, and Liberty there may be rescued from danger through its free exercise. Popular sovereignty is an epic of two parts. Part the first presents Freedom in Kansas lost. Part the second, if yor will consent to write it, hall be Freedom in Kansas regained. At is on this ground that I hail the eminent Senator from Illinois Mr. Douglas] and his associates, the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. Stuart], and the youthfal but most brave Senator from Caliornia [Mr. Broderick]. The late Mr. Claytold us that Providence has many ways for saving nations. God forbid that I should consent to see Freedom wounded because my own lead or even my own agency in saving it should be rejected. I will cheerfully cooperate with these new defenders of this sacred cause in Kansas, and I will award them all due praise, when we shall have been successful, for their large share of merit in its deliverance.

Will you tell me that it is difficult to induce the Senate and the House of Representatives to take that short backward step? On the courtary, the hardest

will award them an due praise.

Will you tell me that it is difficult to induce the Senate and the House of Representatives to take that short backward step? On the contrary, the hardest task that an executive dietator ever set, or parliamentary manager ever undertook, is to prevent this very step frem being taken. Let the President take off his hand, and the bow, bent so long, and held to its tension by so hard a pressure, will relax and straighten itself at once.

Consider now, if you please, the consequences of your refusal. If you attempt to coerce Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, the people of that Territory will resort to civil war. You are pledged to put down that revolution by the sword. Will the people listen to your voice amid the thunders of your cannen? Let but one drop of the blood of a free citizen be shed there by the Federal Army, and the countenance of every representative of a Free State in either House of Congress will blanch, and his tongue will refuse to utter the voic necessary to sustain the Army in the butchery of his fellow-citizens.

Practically, you have already one intestine and Territorial war. A war against Brigham Young in Utah. Can you carry on two, and confine the strife within the Territories? Can you win both? A wise nation will never provoke more than one enemy nt one time. I know that you argue that the Free-State men of Kansas are impracticable, factious, seditions? Asswer three me questions: Are they not a majority, and so proclaimed by the people of Kansas? Is not this quarrel, for the right of governing themselves, conceded by the Federal Constitution in the Lyramyof forcing a hateful Government upon them less intolerable than three cents impoet on a pound of tea, or five cents duty on a promissory note? You say that they can change this Lecompton Constitution when it shall once have been forced upon them. Let it be abandoned now. What guaranty can you give against your own intervention to prevent that future change? What security can you give for

brought into the Union by force.

So long as the States shall come in by free consent, their admission will be an act of union, and this will be a Confederacy. Whenever they shall be brought in by fraud or force, their admission will be an act of consolidation, and the nation, ceasing to be a Confederacy, will become in reality an Empire. All our elementary instruction is wrong, or else this change of the Constitution will subvert the liberties of the American people.

mentary matriction is wrong, or ease this change the Constitution will subvert the liberties of the American people.

You argue the consent of Kansas from documentary proofs, from her forced and partial acquiescence, under your tyrannical rule, from elections frandulently conducted, from her own contunacy, and from your own records, made up here againgt her. I answer the whole argument at once: Kansas protests here, and stands, by your own confession, in an attitude of rebellion at home, to resist the annexation which you contend she is soliciting at your hands.

Sir, if your proofs were a thousand times stronger, I would not hold the people of Kansas bound by them. They all are contradicted by stern fact. A people can be bound by no action conducted in their name, and pretending to their sanction, unless they cajor perfect freedom and safety in giving that consent. You have held the people of Kansas in dureas from the first hour of their attempted organization as a community. To crown this dures by an act at one forcing Slavery on them, which they hate, and them into a union with you, on terms which they abber, would be but to illustrate anew, and on a grand scale, the maxim—

Mr. President, it is an occasion for joy and triumph, when a community that has gathered itself together under circumstances of privation and exile, and proceeded through a season of Territorial or provincial dependence on distant central authority, becomes a State, in the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and rises into the dignity of a member of this Imperial Union. But, in the case of Kansas, but whole existence has been, and it yet is, a trial, a tempest a chaose, and now you propose to make her nurses. whole existence has been, and it yet is, a trial, a tempest, a chaos—and now you propose to make her nuptials a celebration of the funeral of her freedom. The people of Kansas are entitled to save that freedom, or they have won it back when it had been wrested rom them by invasion and usurpation. Sir, you are great and strong. On this continent, there is no power that can resist you. On any other, there is hardly a Power that would not reluctantly engage with you but you can never, never conquer Kansas. Your power, like a throne which is built of pine boards, and covered with purple, is weakness, except it be defended by people confiding in you, because satisfied that you are a just, and grateful for the freedom that, under you, they enjoy.

fended by people confiding in you, because stiends that you are a just, and grateful for the freedom that, under you, they enjoy.

Sir, in view once more of this subject of Slavery, I submit that our own dignity requires that we shall give over this champerty with slaveholders, which we practice in prescribing acquiescence in their rule as condition of toleration of self-government in the Territories. We are defeated in it. We may wisely give it up, and admit Kansas as a Free State, since she will consent to be admitted only in that character.

Mr. President, if I could at all suppose it desirable or expedient to enlarge the field of Slave labor, and of slaveholding sway in this Republic, I should nevertheless maintain that it is wise to relinquish the effect to sustain Slavery in Kansas. The question, in regard to that Territory, has risen from a private one about Slavery as a domestic institution, to one of Slavery as a national policy. At every step you have been falling. Will you go on still further, ever confident, and yet ever unsuccessful?

I believe, Sir, to some extent, in the isothermal theory. I think there are regions, beginning at the North Pole and stretching southward, where Slavery will die out soon, if it be planted; and I know to well that in the tropies, and to some extent northward of them, Slavery lives long, and is hard to extirpate. But I cannot find a certain boundary. I am sure, however, that 36° 30' is too far north. I think it is a mevable boundary, and that every year it advance toward a more southern parallei.

But is there just now a real want of a new State for

toward a more southern parallel.

But is there just now a real want of a new State for the employment of Slave Labor! I see and feel the seed of room for a new State to be assigned to Free